1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

[1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

city among the pine woods which clothe the lower slopes. 769
Arrived there, rugs and cushions are spread out on the flat 527
terrace in front of the tombs, and a cooking fire is started at 788
a little distance. Sticks of incense are lighted and stuck in front of each tomb. The women busy themselves cooking a large meal, while the children play among the pine trees, and the men and their guests, lie smoking in the shade or ramble on the mountain side.

If the graves happen to be near some famous beauty spot, such as the Wind Eye Cave "Fêng Yen Tung" (ruined Buddhist rock shrines in a precipice about two thousand ft. above the plain), or the tomb of Ber Wa, the White Prince, legendary hero of the Min Chia, the men and their guests will make an excursion to see it, but the women, busy with their cooking, have no time for such recreations. When the 264
meal is prepared, and the men have returned, about four in 769
the afternoon, chopsticks and bowls are laid on the grass in 527
circles, and the guests form themselves into parties for the 788
feast. The men eat first, waited on by the boys of the family, and the women last, when all the guests have been served. The meal, though eaten informally seated on the grass, is elaborate and tasty, certain dishes regarded as appropriate for the occasion always being included, especially the *Huo Kuo* or fire pot, a circular dish with a charcoal brazier in the middle of it, in which meat and vegetables are cooked and eaten at the table itself. There is also a considerable consumption of local rice wine.

Before the dishes are served to anyone, one of the younger women, daughter-in-law or unmarried daughter, takes them to the tombs and places a dish on the stone slab before each tomb, and at the same time *k'e t'ou's* before the grave. Thus the ancestors are associated in the feast and held 769
to partake of it also. When all is finished, and the party 788
begins to leave, the women in turn *k'e t'ou* before the graves 527

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

and light new sticks of incense which are left burning there. Men, on the other hand, do not perform these acts of reverence on this occasion. The *dso mu* custom is thus partly a religious rite, and no doubt primarily so, but also a picnic and a welcome outing in delightful surroundings. Nor is it strictly limited to the tombs of the male ancestors of the family. On these occasions the descendants on the female side are also invited, and I have observed girls making obeisance to ancestral tombs which were not those of their own family, but of their mother's family. The custom of inviting a large number of guests in no way connected with the family (I myself was often invited in this way) differentiates the *dso mu* rite from the Shu Pao, which is private and for the family itself only. Unlike the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, it is customary to *dso mu* more than once a year, for the autumn month corresponding with the Solar October, when the rains are over, and the cold winds not yet begun, is equally favoured. Nor do families content themselves with one visit at spring and another in the autumn, for it is not uncommon to make two visits in the same season.

The atmosphere on these occasions is in no way solemn, for the Min Chia do not have the feelings of terror and dread associated with graves in western cultures. The open hillside, with the graves scattered among the pine trees and rocks, has none of the gloomy associations of a cemetery, and tombs are not treated with the half concealed aversion masquerading as reverence with which we are familiar. The children play among their forbears' graves unconcerned, the elders recline in the shade of the monuments, or rest their backs against the sloping mounds. The atmosphere is informal, happy and intimate. The feelings about graves are rather those of pride at the excellence of the workmanship or the skill of the caligraphy on the inscription than thoughts of mortality. A Min Chia will show you his father's tomb

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

769 with the quiet pride with which a European might show his
527 house. A beautiful piece of work, look at the size of the granite stones, and the purity of the white marble tombstone, admire the choice and caligraphy of the inscription, and all this cost so much money!

764 Tombs, indeed play a very important part in the life of
531 the community. They are better built, and of more enduring materials, than the houses of the living, and they cost a great deal of money. The monument, made of dressed granite blocks quarried on the mountain, is of a pattern peculiar to Ta Li and its district. Usually about eight feet long and cylindrical in shape, it has a rounded top of fitted granite slabs and an arched front made of a single massive curved block. In the recess beneath this arch the white marble tombstone is fitted, closing what is apparently a tomb chamber. This is not so, however, for actually this stone structure is not the tomb itself, but a monument raised over the grave, which is only a deep trench excavated in the soil and lined with granite slabs. Thus what is visible, in spite of its suggestive shape, is only a false tomb, and is filled in with rubble stones. Carving is employed to adorn the arch and the marble slabs which support the tombstone. In early examples dating from the Ming dynasty *Chi lin* and dragons, or galloping horses, were the preferred motifs; to-day these are still popular, though less well executed, but the crossed flags of the Chinese Republic is a still more favoured design.

764 The inscriptions usually give the rank, if any, which the deceased bore in civil employment or in the army, and the age at death with the date. The name of the wife is also frequently found on the husbands' tomb as well as his own, and a pious inscription recording the elevation of the monument by the sons. A laudatory couplet offered by one distinguished man, and written by another, is added in the case of important personages. In the tomb illustrated, this couplet

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

the belief that drowned persons have been claimed by the Dragon of the Lake, the recovered corpses of those who lose their life in this way are buried on the foreshore, among the willows which line the water. They are given elaborate tombs if they were fathers of a family, just as if death had not been due to drowning, but they are never buried with the family on the mountain slopes. Graves are always orientated in accordance with the instructions of a geomancer, but they invariably face the lake at some angle, and are never faced towards the mountain. The orientation of graves is believed to be intimately connected with the repose of the dead, and if misfortune falls upon a family, or the ghost of the deceased is believed to walk, it is attributed to wrong orientation of the grave, and the monument is reconstructed accordingly.

In all parts of China the Lunar New Year, which falls early in February, is the principal holiday in the calendar, and is celebrated by feasting and festivity. It is usual for shops to close, formerly for as long as two weeks, and even now very little business is done in the first half of the First Month. The 15th of the 1st Month, the last day of the Feast of Lanterns, was the old official end of the holiday season, a period which very much resembles the Christmas holidays of western Europe. In just the same way the New Year holiday is a time for family reunions, a festival in which the religious background is not so prominent as the secular feasting and holiday making. In Ta Li the Min Chia celebrate the New Year with rites, which though they may be affected by Chinese practice in the past, are now strange to Chinese visitors from the eastern provinces. These rites are performed privately in the home and are therefore akin to the Shu Pao ceremonies of Ancestor Worship described above. It is characteristic of Min Chia practice, however, to find Buddhist elements incorporated in the ceremony.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

527 The morning of New Year's Day is saluted with a prolonged discharge of fire crackers at the front gate of the house and in the courtyard, but the Min Chia do not celebrate the last night of the old year by a more or less continuous fusillade of crackers as is customary in North China. As soon as the crackers are fired off the women of the household come out and light large sticks of incense, which are placed on either side of all the doors opening on to the courtyard, and before the front gate as well. Incense sticks and flowers are also placed on the altar of the ancestors in the main reception room, and the floor of this room is spread with fresh green pine needles. Doors and gateways are also decorated with green pine boughs, and new paper strips bearing the characters for good luck, wealth, happiness, etc., are pasted on to lintels and pillars.

527 769 788 Immediately the morning meal is eaten the women bring out a square table and set it up as an altar in the courtyard, just as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Covered with a rich piece of red silk embroidery it is spread with dishes of sweetmeats and cups of wine, but also on this occasion the ancestral tablets themselves are ranged in two rows facing each other along the sides of the altar, with an incense burner in the middle. Incense sticks are planted in the crevices of the courtyard before this altar, but there is no fire as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Meanwhile hired musicians, none of whom are in fact Buddhist monks, arrive with their instruments and are seated on both sides of the main reception room [533] behind the altar table. They begin to play music and to recite sutras, male members of the family, especially the elder sons, taking a part in the playing of musical instruments from time to time. This music and recitation is kept up all day until about four in the afternoon. As soon as the musical recitation of sutras has started the members of the family, led by the eldest male present, and followed in order

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

of age by all others male and female, come out and *k'e t'ou* (prostrate themselves) before the altar on which the ancestral tablets stand. Pinches of food from the dishes and drops of wine from the cups are scattered and poured on the pavement before the altar by the head of the family. 527 769 788

During the morning the family is visited by members of collateral branches and relatives on the female side, who on arrival also *k'e t'ou* before the altar, while visiting friends not related, bow ceremoniously to the tablets of the ancestors. The tablets, regarded as the resting place of the spirits of the deceased, are in fact treated with the same courtesy as living parents or grandparents. Members of the family who go out from time to time to visit their relatives elsewhere pay the same respects to the tablets in each house at which they call. The chanting and music which have continued all day with brief pauses, cease about four in the afternoon, when the musicians, after being given some refreshments, depart. The altar is then removed and the family sits down to the New Year Feast. These ceremonies are explained as homage to the ancestors and an offering designed to assure their goodwill and protection for the coming year, while the association of Buddhist rites with the ceremony may be regarded as intended to secure the assistance of the gods also.

The behaviour of those present during these rites is not so reverent as during the Shu Pao ceremony, partly because the chanting and music continue all day, and daily tasks must be performed at the same time, partly because the atmosphere is one of gaiety and holiday making. While the actual prostrations before the altar are made with due reverence, the family as a whole pays little attention to the chanting of sutras and the music, which is the work of the hired musicians, only assisted for a short time at the beginning by members of the family. It is said that formerly these musicians were Buddhist monks, as the chanting of sutras would

L: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

527 769 788 suggest, but at present there are few Buddhist monks in the district, certainly not enough to perform these rites in every household rich enough to pay for them.

Similar rites, but without the altar and the ancestral tablets, are performed by the same musicians and assisted in the same way by members of the family, on the anniversary of the death of any important member of the family, three anniversaries following the death being commemorated in this way. This ceremony, although no Buddhist monks take part, is none the less inspired by Buddhist traditions, for it is intended to make sure that the spirit of the deceased is released from the Buddhist hell, and transported to the paradise of Amida, a doctrine which in Mahayana Buddhism has nearly displaced the belief in transmigration and reincarnation.

769 779 Beliefs about the status of the spirits of the dead are in fact confused by the conflicting theology of Buddhism and Ancestor Worship. It is clearly inconsistent to believe at once that the departed spirits can exercise a benevolent influence on the destiny of their descendents, and to believe that these same spirits are suffering tortures in the Buddhist inferno, or have been reincarnated as members of some other family or even race. The Min Chia do not make any attempt to reconcile these contradictions, professing ignorance of the real fate of the spirits, but performing all ceremonies which can propitiate or bring comfort to the dead. In spite of a long Buddhist tradition it is apparent that more weight is given to the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits than to the theology of the Indian religion. Many men will deny outright any belief in the Buddhist Boddhisatvas, expressing themselves in a popular rendering of the traditional Confucian argument against Buddhism, "Buddha is only a dead man, why should he have any power over we who are alive to-day?" The fact that this argument, if

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

one does see many men, fishermen, engaged in this rite of releasing fish, perhaps proves that it is taken more seriously as an act of propitiation than most of the temple rituals.

For the great majority of those who crowd the shores of the lake on this day the attraction is not worship at the temple but boating picnics. Almost every family from the city, Chinese or Min Chia, hires a boat for the day, while the poor take places in one of the big cargo ships, devoted for the day to pleasure cruises. Many of the boats are decorated with coloured paper streamers and flowers either artificial or real, lotuses, sunflowers and paper roses (the real variety not being in season). This custom gives the festival its Min Chia name, Yo Huor Yeh, "Gay Flower Boats," a fact which may indicate that the custom has no relation to the Dragon Boats of other parts of China. When a Min Chia name is employed it is a sure indication of something ancient and independent of Chinese influence.

The boating expeditions, though largely pure pleasure excursions, always follow a set course. No boats merely sail about the lake at random. Close to Der Ser Mo village there is one of three large lagoons connected with the lake by a narrow channel. The boats first make a tour of this lagoon, then pass out into the main lake and enter the other lagoons in turn, returning to Shier Yu village at the mouth of the first lagoon. No one has any explanation for this set course, from which they never depart, although it may be repeated several times in the course of the day. When asked, Min Chia either say that it is the custom, or explain it by saying that landsmen are afraid to go far out on to the lake. This latter explanation is clearly nonsense for the lake is in constant use as a means of communication, and at this season is quite calm. It is an example of an explanation invented on the spur of the moment to satisfy the questioner.

Just as the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival of the 5th

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

margins of their economy, that the Min Chia take no 525
pleasure in them unless they are played for high stakes.

Outdoor sports and games are almost unknown. As has 526
been seen basket ball is slowly becoming a popular school game, but it is never played by grown men, except soldiers. Tennis is still virtually unheard of. The Garrison Commander and his staff officers, men who had spent a large part of their lives in other parts of China, or at K'un Ming, had a court in the grounds of the Garrison Headquarters, but after they departed for the war front it was no longer used. Nor do the Min Chia hunt or shoot. Very occasionally young men will go out with a gun on the mountain side, but it is in no sense an organised sport. On the other hand, fishing parties are frequently given by those who live near the lake. Small boats are hired, and the guests are invited for the day, most of which is spent fishing with the line from the boats in the lagoons, or in the shallows of the lake, until in the late afternoon a feast is served. The fish caught are usually small both in size and number, but the guests seem to be more attracted by the boating than by the fishing for which it is an excuse.

Boating on the lake, except at the festival of the Dragon 527
King, is not practised as a pleasure, partly no doubt because the lakeside people have to do it for their livelihood, and those from the city or inland villages can rarely spare the time to walk a considerable distance to the lake, find and hire a boat, and then amuse themselves by aimless cruising. This would seem a fantastic waste of money to the Min Chia. But if some reason can be given for the expedition, they are delighted to find an excuse for sailing on the lake. One such excuse, or reason, is provided by the pear harvest in the orchards on the eastern shore. It has become a custom, annually renewed by some of the lakeside families who are fairly well-to-do, to invite friends for a day's

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

527 excursion to the pear orchards. A boat is hired, a large number of cooking utensils, rice bowls, and baskets of light refreshments, put on board, and the party, perhaps fifteen or so strong, and including the women of the household, embarks. The crossing of the lake takes from three-quarters of an hour to three hours, depending on the wind, so an elastic time-table is essential. The time is whiled away, if the crossing is slow and tedious, by smoking, eating melon seeds and pine nuts, or, for the older men, smoking opium.

Arrived at Dao Chi, the small village on the nearest point of the eastern shore, everyone disembarks and makes for the pear orchards on the mountain sides above the village. A tour of these is made, and the fruit sampled, and carried away in baskets, a small payment being made to the owners of each orchard. Meanwhile, the women, having found a suitable spot, are cooking and preparing the afternoon meal, while some of the young men and boys go down to bathe from the rocky shore, or to fish. About four in the afternoon the meal is served, with the usual Fire Pot, and a light consumption of wine, and the return journey is started before the evening breeze fails. The purchase of several large baskets of fruit, a little cheaper than they could be bought in Ta Li market, is made the excuse for this picnic, for the Min Chia must have a reason for undertaking such an expedition.

This applies equally to all excursions. The "*dso mu*" visits to the graves, described earlier, are in reality nothing but picnics justified by reverence to the ancestral graves, and the same sort of reason is required for visiting any other spot. Consequently, the Min Chia only know a restricted number of the innumerable beauty spots lying close to hand on the mountain. One may visit Wu Wei Ssu, a Buddhist temple with a beautiful garden and some very fine old cedar trees, lying four miles north of the

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

527 city on the lower mountain slopes. The feast cooked in the temple kitchens (in spite of the fact that no meat or wine should be used in a temple) is served after the guests have spent the afternoon playing cards in the garden. A similar sort of excursion is made to Chung Ho Ssu, the Taoist temple (with an important shrine to the Mountain God) which lies immediately behind and above the city at about 9,000ft. The attraction here is, of course, the magnificent view over the plain and lake, with the city spread out below. These two excursions, which are perhaps still partly pilgrimages for some people, are often made by women also, but very few Min Chia of either sex go to any other places on the mountain.

Young men, it is true, sometimes visit two other beauty spots, which are more difficult of access. Ch'ing P'i Ch'i the Jade Green Spring, which wells up, a perfect azure blue colour, in a cave at the head of a rocky gorge some six miles south of the city, is visited for its beauty and also for the rock inscriptions cut in ancient times to celebrate the visits of distinguished persons. But there are many other gorges, cascades and waterfalls, which are never visited by any one but grass cutters. Unless a place is famous, and has some definite "sight," the Min Chia do not consider it worth a visit, and many men have never troubled to go a mile or two from the city to see scenery which in any other country would be world famous.

A few young men, in recent years an increasing number, for the interest taken by visiting Chinese has stimulated their curiosity, make the ascent of the mountain to the tarn called the Hsi Ma T'ang—the Horse Washing Pool—a name derived from the legend that a deity brings his celestial steeds to this place. This point is only reached by a long and hard climb of five to six hours through the bamboo and rain forests. It lies a hundred feet or so under

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

527 the knife edge crest of the Ts'ang Shan range, in a hollow covered with a luxuriant growth of golden rhododendrons of great size. In winter, at 14,000ft. it is inaccessible, being deep in snow, but from the end of April it can be reached, and in May or early June, when the rhododendrons are in flower against great banks of unmelted snow lying round the still clear water of the tarn, it is a place of rare beauty, a natural garden owing nothing to the hand of man. A further short climb to the crest of the range opens up the immense panorama of western Yunnan, to ranges far west of the Mekong River, more than one hundred miles away, while northwards there is an unbroken view of the great Yu Lung Shan snow range, 20,000 feet or more, on the borders of Tibet.

137 824 [747] Curiously enough although the Min Chia are fond of flowers and cultivate many varieties of camelia in their courtyard gardens very few of them even know the names of the mountain flowers which at all seasons are so prolific. Since they confine their excursions to a few places, where some of these flowers do not grow, they have no name for the wild blue irises which are found in the mountain gorges, or the pansies and crocuses which carpet the grass under the trees of the high rain forest in May. They cultivate a few varieties of azalea, which on Ts'ang Shan is the common shrub growing as thickly as heather on a Scottish mountain. Rhododendrons are not easily acclimatised to the lower level of the plain, for the best and largest grow on the higher slopes and up to the crest itself. Rock orchids and other varieties growing in the bamboo forest are sometimes brought down and grown, more or less successfully, in pots, but the Min Chia have made no attempt to cultivate the wild fruit, raspberries and red currants, which flourish in the higher valleys and gorges on Ts'ang Shan.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

517 men sit and smoke and gossip, and the women spin yarn of hemp thread, make shoes or embroidery, or sew clothing.

527 During the first moon families invite friends and relatives
[525] to a feast where they eat, smoke, talk, and drink wine. There is very little gambling. At this time people may amuse themselves by "playing lion," when two men covered by an imitation lion's skin dance about and fight with a man who always conquers the lion.

517 While working in the fields, tending their flocks, gathering wood or working in their homes, men and women talk and sing songs. When bringing home loads of wood or corn or some other produce they
[562] may stop at a convenient resting-place and chat. There is considerable freedom between the sexes—that is, they visit and talk freely together, with comparatively little sexual irregularity.

535 At Chiu Tzu Tun in 1933 the writer witnessed a dance by
171 twelve women and six men. The women were lined up on the right and the men on the left. First the men would sing a line of a song, dancing rhythmically, and waving their arms from side to side. Occasionally there was a slight, quick lowering of the body. There were graceful steps in unison, a swaying of the body, and a stamping of the feet. While singing each line each person turned around com-
[415] pletely one time. It was both interesting and graceful. There was a jar of wine from which the performers drank through small bamboo tubes. As the wine became low, fresh water was poured into the jar. The dance was led by a female relative of the local ruler. Since she was a Jia Rung, and the Jia Rung are very near, since the dance is lacking in other parts of the Ch'iang region, and since it very closely resembles the Jia Rung dance, it seems safe to assume that this dance was borrowed from the Jia Rung.

2. Engagements.

584 Sometimes through singing "Mountain songs" or otherwise a young man and a young women become attached to each other and desire to get married. In that case they must request their parents to appoint middle men to make the necessary arrangements, and the consent of the two families must be obtained.

In Ch'iang engagements middle men are always necessary. Marriage is not an individual, but a family affair. Generally the young people are not given a choice, but the choice is made for them. A

The ordinary meal consists of butter and tsamba, but more butter is eaten than tsamba. This is the way it is done: they fill a wooden bowl with tea (1) and add a good clump of butter (about a heaping

1. Such a bowl is on an average 5 centimeters deep and has a diameter at the brim of 10 to 12 centimeters. Rock-hill 1), Plate 14, Figure 3.

tablespoonful in the European sense) which melts in the hot tea. As they drink the butter tea, they try to blow away as much of the butter floating on top as possible, until a certain amount of tea and butter remain in the bowl. Then they sprinkle a suitable amount of tsamba into the bowl and knead it, along with the remaining tea and butter, with their fingers. When they have shaped it into a ball, they eat it without adding any other ingredients. The casein powder is also soaked in tea. Meat - of yak and sheep - is not eaten every day. They eat the meat of animals that have been killed or that have died of some disease. Sheep and yaks /32/ are not slaughtered but strangled. Most of the sheep and yaks are killed in September and October after they have grown fat on summer pastures. Some of the meat is eaten fresh; most of it is dried. The fresh meat is always boiled in water, not roasted. Hunks of cooked meat are cut off with a knife and eaten with the fingers. The intestines are stuffed with tsamba or Chinese bread (mo-mo) and eaten. The large intestine is generally used for this purpose, since the nomads have found that they can profitably sell the small intestine. "Mo-mo" is bought from Chinese bakers who live in the Chinese settlements next to the monasteries. As a rule, a yak is killed by several families together. Pork is eaten only at New Year. For this occasion wealthy families buy one or two pigs from the sedentary Fantzu. Poorer people buy no more than one pig which they pay for in butter the following summer.

Besides pork which, according to Hermanns, (1) is not generally

1. Hermanns 3), page 58. According to Ekvall 4), page 78, only the nomads who live farther away from the Chinese eat no pork.

eaten by the Amdo-nomads, yak meat and mutton is, of course, also eaten for New Year and at feasts, along with butter and tsamba, baked goods made of unparched barley flour, or mo-mo which is usually fried in rape-seed oil. Besides this, the nomads also buy

/9/ Introduction

114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and
101 dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

177 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are
527 the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shepherds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and building houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from family names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They believe that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in